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Author _____

Title _____

Imprint _____



American Antiquarian Society

Journal of Major Robert Rogers

BY
WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
FOR OCTOBER, 1918.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1918

F572
.M16R7

THE DAVIS PRESS
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS



ROGERS'S MICHILLIMACKINAC JOURNAL

BY WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS

The scene of the occurrences narrated in this Journal was at Fort Michillimackinac, located at the entrance of Lake Michigan and at the Western terminus of the Strait connecting Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. The meaning of the word in the Algonquin tongue is "Place of the big lame person." The word has been abbreviated into Mackinac and is pronounced Mackinaw.¹ The present Fort Mackinac, on Mackinac Island, is the successor of the original fort located on the mainland, built in 1712 by the French for the protection of their trade; and during the so-called French and Indian War (1755-1761), was surrendered to the British. The Treaty of Paris (1783) ceded this fort and district to the United States. This mainland fort was the scene of many conferences during the French régime with Indians and Traders, and it was the scene during English occupation in 1763, of the massacre beginning Pontiac's War. Several miles west of the present Mackinaw City a tourist today is shown what is supposed to be the location of the original fort. In 1781 the mainland fort was abandoned by the English and a new and stronger fortress was erected on the Island of Mackinac, which remains today, and is maintained in a Michigan State Reservation.

The district of Mackinac, or Michillimackinac, in early history included all of the region in the vicinity of the

¹The spelling has been made phonetic with Old Mackinaw and Mackinaw City. We speak of Mackinac Island, Fort Mackinac and the Straits of Mackinac, but of Mackinaw City and Old Mackinaw.

Island. The Point Saint Ignace Mission² and stations located on the north side of the Strait were in this district. It is needless to say there was no boundary.

There is some ground for belief that the mainland fort was in two locations not far apart at different times; the earlier one on Lake Michigan, a short distance beyond the Straits, and the later located as we have described it.

The Fort Michillimackinac of this Journal undoubtedly is on the later mainland location and in the accompanying drawing the fort and location are shown taken from the Crown Collection of Maps in the British Museum.

It is only by a great stretch of the imagination that we can call such a structure as is here shown a fort—a few posts of wood embedded in the ground and intended to withstand arrows and gun shot, and the whole settlement and fort including a commandant and a few soldiers within the enclosure, and without it the bourgeois, the voyageurs, the coureurs de bois and the French habitants—the last, the most indolent men imaginable. To all of the above we must add the robed and sombre Jesuit priests and many Indians. These Indians were Algonquins, or Indians of the Algie tongue. They included the Ottawas, Ojibwas or Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes. All the above were related by kindred speech to the Micmacs, Abenakis and Delawares in the East and the Illinois, Shawnees in the South and the Crees and “Blackfeet” in the North and West. Such was Fort Michillimackinac in 1766, the date of the beginning of Rogers’s Journal.

Major Robert Rogers wrote and published two books of considerable historical value; “A Concise Account of North America,” and his “Journals,” both appearing simultaneously in London in 1765, and during his first visit to England. His other published

² A mission was established there as early as 1670 and abandoned in 1701.

writing "Ponteach" was probably written at about this time, for the imprint bears the date 1766. It now appears without a doubt that Rogers was the author of this tragedy, one of the earliest productions in the field of the American dramatic art. His Journal published in 1765 will always be considered one of the source books of the French and Indian War. It recites his experiences in a modest way and the important part he played in this war. The truth of the narrative has never been questioned.

If the career of Rogers had ended in 1765, or after the production of his Journal, he would have come down to us as a hero whose deeds were unsurpassed in bravery by any soldier serving in the trying Colonial times from 1755 to 1761. Rogers was a very brave man and did much to win the war for the English.

The daring adventurer, however, even though this bravery evidenced itself very early in his career in the defence of his native settlement, never seemed to have inspired his neighbors and associates with a degree of confidence that might be expected under such circumstances, for his actions as a civilian were quite in contrast to his bravery as a director of a scout expedition or the defender of a precarious position. His lack of a proper sense of honesty, his frequent indiscretions and sometimes his utter disregard for the opinions and orders of his superiors, led him to be regarded by his military associates with distrust, although by all his daring and bravery were unquestioned.

In 1765, when Rogers appeared in England and produced his Journal, he was hailed as a writer and a warrior, to whom too little credit had been given for the successful culmination of the late war, and it is not surprising that among his many activities, therefore, that his solicitations for advancement in the services of the Government and subsidiary trading companies should have been received and considered. It is not surprising, either, even with formal statements and objections from his associates in America, including

Sir William Johnson, of his unfitness for high official positions of trust, that even such reports should be to a large extent ignored and that he was given, through influence of the Earl of Hillsborough, President of the English Board of Trade, the position of Commandant of Michillimackinac with certain other duties to perform incident to the occupation of the newly acquired territory. He was now in fact the Commandant and Executive Officer of trade at Michillimackinac.

With such commissions conferred upon him, to the consternation of his former associates, he appeared in America in the spring of 1766 and reported unwillingly to his senior Executive, the Indian Commissioner, Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, for duty.

That Johnson had many reasons for mistrusting in all capacities Rogers, there is no doubt; that he and his superior, General Gage, had misgivings as to what would be the result of his work at Michillimackinac there is no doubt; but it appears, too, that even with the subdued antagonism of Rogers toward Johnson, that there was not a better effort made by Johnson, a sincere effort, to turn to some use Rogers's experience, for it must be remembered that Rogers had performed the service several years before of taking possession of the forts about Lake Erie, and of receiving from the French the important fort at Detroit, and no event in Rogers's career shows him to greater advantage than his tactful negotiations with Pontiac and his people near Detroit, the peaceful occupation of the fort, and the peaceful submission of the Indian tribes thereabouts.

From the date of Rogers's commission and his appearance at Johnson Hall for duty, it appears that Johnson's fixed purpose was to oppose all activities of Rogers, and to circumscribe his authority to the greatest extent within his power.

We are not here interested more than is necessary in the quarrels between Johnson and Rogers. I doubt not that whatever action, even for good, that Rogers



might have taken in the administration of affairs at Michillimackinac, would have been opposed by Johnson, and in his letter to General Gage in which Johnson stated "that he (Rogers) should be tied up in such a manner as shall best prevent him doing mischief," forever discounted any kind of effort with important initiative by Rogers.

We must consider, however, all of these matters in connection with the "Michillimackinac Journal," because this Journal records the transactions of Rogers which led to charges by Johnson of dishonesty, never completely confirmed, and of treason after matters had reached such a stage that Rogers's authority at Michillimackinac was completely set aside, and Rogers in desperation, with his drafts for purchases of supplies and Indian gifts unpaid, associated himself with such enterprises that his recall was undoubtedly justified, and, as a climax to his Michillimackinac career, he was brought in chains to Montreal for trial. It should be stated that Rogers was never convicted of treason.

The conflict between the crafty Irishman, Sir William Johnson, and Rogers, ending in the complete vindication of the Johnson methods in the conduct of Indian affairs of the time, left Rogers with few friends and but a remainder of his reputation of 1760, but his administration at Michillimackinac, with its extravagance in seeking Indian trade and friendships, leads us to the principal interest and value of this Journal. Without Rogers and his extravagance, there would be no report of half-civilized and uncivilized life at Michillimackinac and vicinity during this period. Through him and his methods there were congregated at Michillimackinac and held for a period of nearly two years the largest number of Indians that history records; and we become acquainted through this Journal with the deplorable conditions of the Chipewas, Ottawas, and other tribes of the Algonquin extraction, and the fierce competition between the French and English for trade with the tribes not only

of this region but even with those tribes roaming farther West.

This Journal will always be a source chapter in Northwest history which gives a true picture of Indian trade and methods, more vividly given than Carver's narratives and showing that in 1767, after about one hundred years of French missionary effort and French and English trade influences, the Algonquin Indians had resisted the absorption of what had been presented to them of good, but they had been apt pupils of the French and English traders with their European vices.

Parkman estimated that in the congregation of Indian tribes called by Rogers to the vicinity of Michillimackinac during the summer of 1767, the number of Indians exceeded 7,000, and there were representatives from every far West tribe including the Sioux—all brought together that Rogers might impress upon them the importance of English trade and friendship, but above all, with the expectation of receiving presents, valuable in the eyes of the Indians, the most important of which was rum. The picture of Indian trading, with cajoling, flattery, threats, lying by French and English, distributed throughout the Journal, has a value in depicting the early history of the Northwest.

The principal historical value of this Journal has been stated, but it is of interest to review conditions then existing and consider the Journal from other points of view. It might be stated with a fair degree of justice that at this time more might have been made of Rogers. It might be said, at least from a point of view of today, that his plan for meetings yearly of the chiefs of the great tribes of the Northwest at Michillimackinac, in the interest of peace between the tribes, the adjustment of differences between them, and the fostering of trade between the English traders and the Indians, was in all respects a plan which would lead toward general peace and good trade relations.

Sir William Johnson advocated such a plan, but he seems to have resisted such an effort on the part of Rogers, who, it might be stated in justice to Johnson, in extravagance and magnitude far exceeded any effort in this direction that Johnson ever made. Nevertheless, there is good ground for belief that had there been any harmony between Johnson and Rogers, and had both continued in the service, a different history might be written of the Indians of the Northwest.

Rogers's plan for setting apart the Michillimackinac Post and establishing a combined civil and military Government, with the plain inference that he should be the head of both, as is quite minutely given in this Journal, was never presented to the English Board of Trade as far as any record shows, and this is fortunate, for it was a selfish motive that led him to propose it for himself. His scheme, as proposed to the Board of Trade for an appropriation of an immense sum of money for the development of trade with the Indians of the great Northwest, was a wild one for the conditions and times, and both his Government and trade plans were creations of a disordered brain, devised and mostly written in the Journal in his own handwriting, just before the climax of his quarrel with Johnson and his removal in chains to Montreal.

From this time on, what little was left of Rogers's reputation went from bad to worse. He could not be severely criticised for being a Tory at the outbreak of the Revolution, but he must be condemned for his attestations of loyalty to the Patriots. We leave him in England, in disgrace in America, where without particular notice he died in 1796.

To our knowledge this Journal was the last historical writing of any extent written by Rogers, although in a postscript to his first Journal published in 1765 he states: "It is proposed to continue this Journal in a second volume containing an account of my travels, etc." This Michillimackinac Journal he evidently in-

tended to publish, and doubtless it was written to follow his Journal of 1765.

One cannot investigate Rogers's life without a concluding feeling of pity, that such abilities, for he had abilities, and such weakness should be combined in one man. We feel that the mistrust from the beginning, and the predetermined thwarting of all Rogers's plans by Johnson and Gage, when he was assigned to Michillimackinac, notwithstanding their distrust, were not justified and probably completed the ruins of a weak moral character, which under different treatment might have been strengthened, in which event he would have fulfilled services to his Government equal to those performed during the early part of his life.

ROGERS'S MICHILLIMACKINAC JOURNAL³

A JOURNAL of Major Robert Roger's proceedings with the Indians in y^e district of MICHILLIMACKINAC Commencing the 21st of Septt 1766 & ending Feb. 1st 1767 and Continued from thence till the 23^d May—from the 29 May till July the 3^d.

THE OTTAWAS having repeatedly requested from the first of my arrival at this place, to pay them a visit at their Village at Abacroch,⁴ having given Belts to press my going—The 21st of Septemb in the morning I set out & at two of Clock in the afternoon arriv'd at their Village, having left the Command of the Garrison with Cap^{tn} Lieut. Spicemaker⁵ till my return. The Savages of that Village being all assembled immediately on my arrival made the following speech. VIZ

³ The capitalization, spelling, abbreviations, repetitions, insertions, and incorrect sentences are all reproduced here as in the Journal. It is to be noted that in the latter part of this Journal omissions of parts of sentences are frequent and figures of cost have not been inserted. Rogers's writing at this time was frequently interrupted.

The first part of the Journal was in all probability written by his old Secretary, Potter, the middle and latter part by Rogers himself.

⁴ The village of Abacroch or La Arbor Croche was located on the East Coast of Lake Michigan, midway between Little Traverse Bay and the Straits of Mackinac. It was the largest settlement of the Ottawas. It occupied the site of the present Cross Village.

⁵ F. C. Spiesmacher was Cap't 2nd, 2nd Batt'n 60th Reg. and was always a firm friend, during all his troubles, of Rogers. Potter, Rogers's Secretary, frequently misspells his name as he does many other words, it must be noted.

FATHER

WE THE CHIEFS of the OTTAWAS in the presence of our young Warriors now acquaint you, that we shall be still fast, & ever continue as fast freinds to the English, but have heard & are certain that there is bad birds flying from the West side of the Missisipi to this part of the World, & some of them are already from the Potowatomas of St. Joseph. This Man present pointing to an Indian has seen nine Branches of Wampum sent to that place by Monsieur de Ange⁶, or the officier that commands the uppermost Post on the West side of the Missisipi, which strings of Wampum imports that two thousand French have arrived at the mouth of that River, & in the Spring are to come this way as soon as they take the English Fort at the Illinois, & reduce Michillimackinac & then to proceed to Detroit, from thence down to Niagara, till they meet a large Army, that they heard is to land at New York, and reduce the Country, this the French our old Fathers says, they can do with great ease, as the English people are divided in America, & more than one half of them will join the French. This FATHER we had a desire to tell this to you at our own Village, where there are not any French that can hear us speak, & for that reason, we desired you to come hither, & bring an English Interpreter with you, which we see you have done, & we now, desire you to tell in the Truth, whether there is such an Army coming or not, & to acquaint S^r. William Johnson and the General of what we have said; as you have lately come from the other side the great Lake and tell us you receive your orders from S^r. William Johnson of every thing that may concern us & at Michillimackinac, the other day you told us that from you we might expect to hear the truth, Now tell us the truth that we may know it early, if it is as we have heard, the Ottawas to one Man; will Join against the French, & are all ready to go when ever we are called to keep back that Party if its coming.

MAJOR ROGER'S ANSWER with giving two Ratteen Coats two shirts to the Two Principal Chiefs, & twenty gallons of Rum to the whole Village. Brothers You greatly astonish me by your Speech, is it possible that such romantick foolish

⁶ Monsieur St. Ange, Commandant at Fort St. Louis.

stories as those can enter into the Brain of an Ottawa, & give credit to it! Whose studiness have been so long known & whom I have lately recommended for it to Sr. William Johnson of

GIVING A BELT

I tell you now, that the French have not one inch of Ground on the West side of the Misisipi, for they have some some time ago chang'd thier Lands that they had at that Place, with the Spaniards, which is a set of people, that you well know are mortal Enemies to Indians in general. Look Back? have not your Fathers told you & have you not heard, from your Old men, what those people did to your Countrymen when they first came to America, to those of you who liv'd towards the hottest part of the day, & the coolest Climate of the Evening; their Gold & Silver they pour'd when melted like water, by hot fire down thier Throats; think of this deceit, you cannot sure believe, afterwards, what such people will say to you, for the stories you have told of are all false. Send some of your young men to Misisipi, this Winter & you'll find what I say is Truth; there can be no Troops landed in America amongst our settlements, Our ships are much superior to the French & Spaniards shou'd they both join together & on the other hand all the English in America and The french in Canada are subjects to the Great KING of ENGLAND Your Father

DELIVERED another Belt to the Chiefs

THIS BELT is to desire you, when on Your Winters hunt to find out those nine Strings of Wampum you mentioned, & bring them to me in the Spring, that I may acquaint Sr. William Johnson who will let the great KING OF ENGLAND your Father, know all your Proceedings

A STRING OF WAMPUM

Be strong & wise behave like men & dont fall like a foolish Child into the fire, I now bid Adieu to you, till I shall see you in the Spring at Michillimackinac, by that time you will be convinced from your Young Men, that you are to send to the Misisipi, that there's no such thing as your French Fathers, ever coming up the Misisipi with Troops while Water runs in that River.

The same evening I arrived at Michillimackinac, from thier Village at ten O'Clock.

Sept^r. the 26th.

THIS day assembled a party of the CHIPPAWAS under the great Chief of the Island, The Grand Sable

MADE the following speech.

Father we are all glad & Rejoice at the fire of friendship, that was kindled here some Years ago by the English and Brighten'd, the other day at this place, when we met you last. We all tell you, that we are desirous, that the Chain of Friendship may kept bright between us, & the English, but there is bad birds flying about, & one of them has left this Belt in our Village, Showing a Belt, came from the Indians to the West side of Lake Michigan to us last fall, to be ready to strike the English, when they call'd on us & we have had ever since But not finding that the English are men that speak *that speak* the truth. We believe that others have told lies, We give this belt up & beg that you will acquaint our Father S^r. William Johnson of what we have done & that though we were foolish some time ago; we have now come to our Senses, hope the great Master of Sight, will keep our hearts, & the hearts of our young Men in good Humour, with our Fathers the English

A SMALL STRING OF WAMPUM

FATHER We are told by the Indians, from the Westward that the French are coming next Spring from the Misisipi to take this Fort, some of our Young Men is gone to see if it be truth, but you no doubt can tell us the the truth of this: This is all we have to say, only beg that we may not be despised, while other Nations are carressd And we are poor & beg Charity

MAJOR ROGER'S ANSWER

MY BROTHERS. By giving up this bad Belt amongst you, may be some means of recommending you, to your Great Father the KING OF ENGLAND & S^r. William Johnson the General, for the great injuries you did him, when you cut of this Fort & Murderd the KINGS Subjects, without any reason or provocation; nothing but a steady behavoir from you, with fast Attachments to the English; will now recommend you, so that That blot will be clean wip'd away; You have been

fools, but now if you turn out wise men, so that I can recommend you, for Your good Behavior, no dobt but you'll be again look on with an Eye of Pity & Compassion by, Your great Father the KING OF ENGLAND and S^r. William Johnson, I will acquaint him of your Behavoir as early as I can in the spring and your happiness depends entirely on your future Conduct.

As to what you have heard of French Fathers coming up the Misissipe, is only contrived to make you guidy headed, by some French Villians, which always told you lies, I wonder you have not more sense, than to believe a peple that has always deceiv'd you: the French had, three or four Years ago; some lands at the West side the Misissipi, but it was chang'd away by your Old Fathers to a people call'd the Spaniards employed some of them in their service, knowing that they understood the Indian language, & were fit Instrumets to make You always uneasey & it's from that these very Officers, that you have all those stories told you. The Spaniards are the people, that murdied so many Indians to the South West, of where you live, & now they want to desire you, & get you in thier Power All this youl find to be true, when your Young men returns that are gone to the Misissipe

A STRING OF WAMPUM

BEHAVE like men & return in the Spring to this Place, & let me hear all that passes. Nothing can recommend you more than to make your Reports to me.

THAT I may have it in power to recommend you, if you behave well.

WOUND up the discourse, & giving three Ratteens Coats, three Callimance Gowns, four Shirts, six pounds of Powder, twenty pounds of Shott, & Ball, twenty four pounds of Tobacco, & sixteen gallons of Rum, immediately this Party went off, satisfied, to their hunting Ground.

AT MICHILLIMACKINAC the 10th. of October 1766

At ten ° in the morning Arrived one of MINCHEWABAS & fourteen Chiefs of the OTTAWAS, Assembled with above one hundred Men from the Grand River, mad the Following Speech. VIZ:

GIVING A BEAVER BLANKET. FATHER. This is given you to set upon, without fear; And we are all of one mind & that

nothing suffer'd to enter our Hearts to disturb your ease, while you stay at this Post.

MAJOR ROGERS'S Answer, Brothers, I thank you for this Visit, and for the Bed you have given me, to set easy upon, I shall preserve it, & keep it, as witness to what You have said to me, GIVING a BELT, Your Great Father he has sent me

GIVING A BELT. Your Great Father, has sent me to Command, this FORT and from Sir Will^m Johnson; I recieve all my Orders, & beg that you would behave like men & not mind idle stories, & while you continue, to be wise, You will always be esteem'd, & protected by the English, & I always will communicate, every thing to You, that I know of, that may concern You. And expect, that you will let me hear, every thing, that passes amongst you, that it may be communicated to him as soon as possible. I desire You to consider, & think, what news you have to tell in the afternoon, & then come & let me, know it

AT two OClock in the afternoon, The Indians & Chiefs above mention'd assemble'd & Spoke as follows: VIZ

FATHER. WE are now tell You, what news we have heard, Open your Ear, & hear it.

THERE is nine Strings of Wampum from the west side of the Misissipe that are sent by our Old Fathers, the French, & tell us the following news, VIZ

ANSWER. BROTHERS. Keep to your words, & the trust that I at present, imagine you to be sincere: And you will be a Happy people, As the French King, has at last, waked out of his deep sleep, with Eyes sparking, like a Tygar, & has taken a Resolution, to tread the English, under his feet, & for that purpose, has sent a large Fleet, to Quebec, & that two thousand Men have alreay landed, at the mouth of the Misissipe: And early in the Spring, will take the English Fort, at the Illinois And from thence are coming with Cannon, to take Michilimackinac, they have Desire'd us, to be ready & assist them.

THIS FATHER is what have heard, & we are now going to our hunting for the Winter, & in the Spring we shall return. We have heard what you have told us today, & shall remember it, & will take the Advise Our Father & S^r. William Johnson; but we are poor & hope you will take pity on us, we are in

great want of Powder & Shott, & have nothing to Cover us, from the Cold, have pity on us & open Your Heart, for we are happy to warm ourselves at your fire. This day all Our Warriors rejoices, as well as Women & Children to find fair weather; & beg Charity

WE leave you tomorrow morning, & desire that anything you have to say may immediately finish'd.

MAJOR ROGERS'S Answer, with the following Presents—Eight stroud Blankets, eight pair of Leggins, eight breech Clouts, twelve ratteen Coats, twelve Callimanco Gowns, fourteen Shirts, sixty Pounds of Powder, one hundred and fifty pounds of Shott, four hundred Gun flints, seventy eight pounds of Tobacco, three pounds of Vermillion, twenty-four Gallons of Rum, & fourteen lac'd Hats.

BROTHERS, THERE is a present for you, mention'g the Articles. The Powder will be sufficient for your present Use, & as there is a number of traders, gone out to winter before. I arrivd at this post, you cannot miss of having plenty of supplies, during the Winter, those people you must use like Brothers, & not let them home in the Spring, with tears in thier Eyes, if any of them use You ill, report them to me in the Spring, & any wrong done You, shall be Redress't.

WHEN I think of what you say about your Old Fathers, I cannot help laughing; & am sorry at the same time to see you foolish, as to mind any such lies as passing among the French, for they have not any Land at all on the West side of the Misissipe, what they formerly had, they have chang'd away to the Spaniards And the Spaniards have sent a Gov^r. there. The people do still remain, but they are by no means the Subjects of Your Old Father, the French King.

Send some of your young men, this Winter, to the Illinois & when you return, You will Then know from them, that I have told You the truth; & at this Place, you may always expect to hear it: Take up them Strings of Wampum if possible, you can this Winter and let me have them in the Spring, that I may report them to S^r. William Johnson. And anything that may concern You, will always be communicated to you, by S^r. William Johnson, that may be necessary for you to

know & you may depend on hearing the truth But your Old French Fathers you are not to mind for the future.

& doth not own one foot of Land on this Continent, they cannot land Troops at Quebec as our ships are many more than theirs & we could burn & take all thier ships at sea, were they to be such fools to think of sending Troops in them to America I am well assur'd they never Attempt.

OCTOBER the 15th. 76. The Speech of two Chiefs of the Chippawas assembled at Michillimackinac and eighty men all bound to the Bay, their Wintering place.

FATHER. We are come this day to smoke a pipe with you & give you hands, listen & hear us

GIVING a string of Wampum, This String is to bind our hands to Yours, so fast, that nothing can untiey them.

We are poor people, but our hearts are sincere & no guile in them, we beg Charity & hope you will give us something to Cover our Women & Children & as it is first time that we ever see you, beg that you will give us a little Milk, to drink for we are both hungry & Poor, & have not any Powder or Shott, we hope you will have pity on us & give Charity, eight of our Young people have lately died, & we hope you will give us something to wipe away our Tears from our Eyes, we also beg for Charity.

MAJOR ROGERS'S Answer attending it with the following Speech VIZ. PRESENTS, eight blankets of strouds, six Coats, twelve Shirts, ten Pounds of Gunpowder, twenty pounds of Ball, one pound of Vermillion, five Gallons of Rum & And two laced Hatts.

MAJOR ROGERS'S Answer attending with the before mentioned Presents. BROTHERS I have hear'd what you have said, & am glad that your Hearts are right, & hope you will keep them so & your Father S^r. William Johnson from whom I receive all my orders concerning you, has desir'd me to tell you to behave like men & assures you, he wishes you all well & hopes that you'l be strong, & not mind idle stories, or bad Birds, that may at any time pass your Village, or at your Winter hunting places, & While you behave well, S^r. William Johnson will communicate anything to you that may Concern You, & at this place you may be assur'd, that the truth will

always be told you there is something for you, pointing to the Presents. There is something for you, to bury your dead & wipe away the tears, & some powder & shott, to assist you till you reach your hunting Ground, when you will find traders plenty, that were gone there, before my Arrival, from whom you'll purchase anything you may have Occassion for, with your Skins, I desire & so doth your father S^r. William Johnson that you will not send the traders away with tears in their Eyes, but use them well in every respect, if any of them are foolish & use you ill let me know of it in the Spring, you may be very certain that I will see your grievances Redresst.

THEIR Answer we thank you for the Charity you have shown us and are greatly oblig'd to you, for covering the dead bodies of our relations, we will mind everything that you have told us, & lay it up in our Hearts. No traders that are gone away before you came Amongst us, shall meet with any hurt from us, but we cannot be answerable only for ourselves, We will return in the Spring & all bad birds that passes us you shall know in the Spring, so fare well.

OCTOB^r. 25th Afternoon the Ottawas of the Islands of Beaver in Lake Michigan assembled at Michillimackinac & bound to thier hunting at Green Bay made the following speech, Viz FATHER We are now come to let you know we are going to our hunting Grounds, & every thing is quiet amongst us, & beg Charity, we have niether Powder or Shott, & beg that you wou'd have Compassion on us

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

BROTHERS I am sorry that I have heard You OTTAWA's of the Island are not a good sett *of people* it was own Nation that acquainted me of your ill intentions to take the Goods from the traders at the expence of every Indian on the Islands. Your own nation & the Chippiwas both will join me, in it, I am a Man that come out of the middle of the Ground, & if you do the least hurt either to french or English, that is gone from this Fort, before I came to it, with their goods, the first sight you shall have of me, will be surrounding your Cabbins with a Bloody Hatchet, & all the Indians in this part of Country at my side.

The Indians hung their heads for some time, & at last, made the following speech Viz.

FATHER we acknowledge that we had an intention to take some of the traders goods this winter, without leave, & it is the french that lives in this fort that told us to do it, we are sorry that ever such thoughts should ever enter our hearts, & hopes you will forgive us, as we have not done anything to them, nether will we hurt them, the french told us that they ran away & it was no harm to take their goods, more fools to mind them, & are glad that you spoke to us & put wisdom in our heads, we were fools and beg you will forgive us.

MAJOR ROGERS'S REPLY who are the frenchmen, that told you to take the Traders goods.

OTTAWA'S ANSWER, some that are here and others that have gone to La Bay with thier families, who said they would help us to take away their goods & that they should have part of it, we beg you will forgive us as it is not our faults

We are very poor & have neither Powder or Ball to carry us to our hunting Ground, forgive us, & have pity on us, that we may live & be happy & we will always do as you desire us for the future, take Compassion us

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

You scarcely deserve the least Pity, but as you have so solemnly promis'd to behave better for the future, if you will bring me in those frenchmen to this Fort in the Spring that told you to plunder the Boats that went from here, unhurt with out taking anything from them to this Place: I then will think of your miserable Situation, which your own folly has brought upon yourselves.

OTTAWAS of the Islands Speech Viz The men you mention, shall be brought to you in the spring unhurt, & not any of thier goods, shall be taken from them. we are ashamed to speak to you, for we have been fools, but we'll do better for the future & take your advice at all times, beg you'll forgive us & have Charity, for we are poor & have no Powder or Shott

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER VIZ

I will trust you for this time only, but remember what I now tell you, if ever you do any mischief for the future, it will be

hard terms for you, I will write to S^r. William Johnson about you.

it may be: that he will forgive you but that depends entirely on your future Conduct, he has order'd me to tell you that all the Indians he wishes well. And desires them to be wise & not to listen to foolish stories. Whiles't you continue to do that he will always Esteem & desire peace all over the world. I give you here a little Powder & Ball, though hardly deserve anything at all but as you'd promised to be for the future & bring the french to me. I give you eight Blankets of Stouds, two shirts, nineteen pounds of Gun Powder thirty-eight pounds of Ball, one pound of Vermillion, eight Gallons of rum & one Laced Hatt.

OTTAWAS Went of directly with expressing one further that thier Intentions were good & that their future Conduct should be better.

NOVEMBER the 5 : 1766 Two Chiefs of St. Marys with thirty of thier men call'd at this post on thier way to their wintering Place & spoke as follows Viz

* FATHER We have come to see you this day to tell you that we rec'd your speech by Cadetts & thank you & S^r. William Johnson for your good Advice, we will behave like men for we have not any sick people amongst us, neither do we mind bad birds, we are English in our hearts & have call'd to see You this day to give you our hands & beg Charity we are poor & going to our hunting

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER Viz with following Presents Eight blankets of strouds, one pair of Leggins, one coat, one Gown, one breech Clout one Callimanco Gown, six shirts, six pounds of Gun powder, twelve pounds of Shott, one pound of Vermillion, six Gallons of Rum & one Lac'd Hatt.

BROTHERS I am glad to hear that everything is clear & smooth mind & Keep it so & you will always be happy: I wish you a happy winter & shall acquaint S^r. William Johnson of your good Intentions, So farewell.

NOVEMBER: the 10th. 1766 A CHIEF of the Misisagas arriv'd at Michillimackinac with twenty Indians who reported his Expedition as follows Viz.

FATHER We are just return'd from an expedition against the Sioux, we set out last Summer with the Party you now see here, & pass'd S^t. Marys, from thence to Point Chigemegan, we then went to the West end of Lake Superior, where we left our Canoes & travell'd Westward till we cross'd the Misisipi from thence towards the Sunsetting, till at last we heard a Gun, which we immagin'd to be the Sioux, which we intended to attack, we sent out spies in the Evening & found that they were a large Body & much superior to us & for fear we should be discovered before morning we retreated that night, & made all the haste we possibly cou'd, till we came to the west end of Lake Superior where we embarked in our Cannoes & returned to this Place & we are now bound to our hunting Ground for the Winter & have Call'd to see you & hope you will have Pity on us, for we are greatly fatigued

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

GIVING The following Presents Viz. Eight blankets of stroud, two pair of Leggins, two Coats, one Gown for the Wife of the Chief, two shirts, one pound of Vermillion, six Gallons of Rum to the whole Party & one lac'd Hatt to the Chief.

BROTHERS this present I give although, you have done wrong & acted like fools by fighting against your Brothers the Seoux

A BELT of three hundred WAMPUM.

By this belt I now tell you, that I am sent to this Place by your Great Father the KING OF ENGLAND & S^r. William Johnson & have orders from him to tell You, that he has a genneral Esteem for you all, desires that you would behave like men and be wise & that while you do that you may be certainly be assur'd of His friendship.

Look at the BELT, when you strike the Seoux you strike the English also, for have given them our hands & they trade with us, therefore for the future, You must never go to war against those people without letting S^r. William Johnson know your designs & he will always tell you if he approves of it, or if you tell me, as I am order'd to make all reports to him, I shall write to him on the subject, when I get his Answer you shall be inform'd of his Sentiments.

Go to your hunting ground & in the spring, I woud recommend it to you, to go to your Village & plant your Corn, for the next & it is the desire of the great KING & S^r. W Johnson that all the world of Indians shou'd live in peace with with the English. I cannot but think you are men of more sense than think for the future of any attempt of Hostilities, against the Seox, as they are brothers to us & by this Belt I stop the road

ANSW^r. We will observe it, & thank you for your advice, for the future we will not go to War without leave & will be always ready when you order us, or when we receive orders from S^r. W^m. Johnson, we thank you for your present, & are joyfull that you have taken Pity on us, Adieu.

DECEMB: The 12: A Misissaga Chief arriv'd from La Baye & reported as follows VIZ

LAST fall I went to the Misissipe & was at the English fort at the Illinois but did not arrive till after Mr Croghan, that speaks truth to the Indians had gone to Philidephia, but I heard many Lies & am sorry for it, the French told me that I shou'd have a flag from them, but I got none, I was angry & went up the Misissipe in a Cannoe, & a few days after Lewis Constant, in a another Cannoe followed me & landed there & the people in the Cannoe told me that two thousang french had arriv'd at New Orleans & in the spring was to cut of that Fort, there, which belongs to the English & early next Spring woud attack Michillimackinae with Cannon.

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER VIZ.

BROTHERS You do very well to tell me what news you have heard, for they have chang'd away their Land they had to to the Spaniards, & have not any Ground, on the West side of Misissipi. You tell me the news I suppose with a design to Get some rum. I give you this charge at the same time, & tell you I think it a bad way to get drink; by telling french stories for I know that what they have told you is Lies

GIVING him & his Party a pair of Leggins, a breech Clout, one Coat, two linnen Shirts, three Gallons of rum, & a lacd Hatt

DESIRING him to go to his winter hunting & to behave like men & never think of listening stories for the future.

JANUARY the 22^d. 1767. A poor Savage of the Ottawas came from the Mission being left behind sick with a token from the Ottawa Chiefs of the Village at abacroach begging assistance.

GAVE him the following Articles VIZ.

Two shirts, two pounds of Powder, six pounds of Shott, & one gallon of Rum, to carry to his Family.

PROCEEDING of Major Roger's with the Indians from the 2^d of Feby to y^e 23^d of May 1767.

The 11th. of March 76 Sent by Mr. Henry a flag for the Indians Village at S^t. Marys, he deliver'd me a french flag that had been in thier possession ever since the french had posses'd this Country.

22^d. of March, Deliver'd to the Chief of S^t. Mary's & a party of his men that came with fresh provisions for the use of the Troops —two pounds of Gun powder, six pounds of Shott, two pounds of Tobbacco & two Gallons of rum

THIS CHIEF brought no news, but came intentionally to sever the Garrission, he enquir'd very strictly what had pass'd, in the winter, with the Ottawas, & what news came from S^r. William Johnson since Cadot⁷ had left this Garrission, that he had Recc'd the message that was sent by him, & that himself & all his young men wou'd observe what had been told them

ANSWER. I told them that every thing was Quiet down the Country, that I had no news from the Ottawas, & that I did not expect to hear from them till the Lake was was open that might come in thier Cannoes, but when he returned the next Spring, I did not doubt that I shou'd have news to tell him & recommended it to him & his Party to behave well, & that every thing which might concern them they shou'd know the next time they came.—Next morning this Indian and his Party left the Garrission.

MARCH 23^d THE double look'd Indian came from the grand river, with some fresh provisions on a slay, which was sent for the Troops in the Garrission, he said he but little news and that the Chiefs to whom he belong'd had not sent my young men

⁷ Cadot was a French Canadian and trader. He had erected for himself a fort upon land owned by him near Sault Ste. Marie. He was not disturbed after the English occupation of Fort Michillimackinac.

from thier hunting during the winter, but at the time they left the Fort last fall they had detatch'd four of thier young Warriors to the Illinois to hear the News that was going there. Gave him three gallons of Rum & the next morning, he set out on his return to the Great Chief at the Grand Sable Island the Party which he belong'd to.

MARCH 30th COMISHIMEGAN a Chief of the Chippewas came from Cheboigan and one In a dean with his wife and son from Thunder Bay, and brought a Quantity of fresh meat for the use of the Garrison, but no news as they had not seen any Indians during the winter

GAVE them two pound of Tobbacco & three Gallons of rum. Next morning they set out for thier hunting houses telling me they woud soon return with more meat.

MARCH 30th In the evening Arriv'd a Chief of the Misisagas from Thunder Bay with fresh meat for the Garrison & next deliver'd a slay load of Moose & Elk, Gave him one bed gown two shirts, two pounds of Powder & two Gallons of Rum the second day of April he went away.

APRIL 6th An Indian with friendship came from Comishisemagan at Chebeoigan with news that his Chief & two others was very sick & not able to hunt & beg'd for a little Rum to cure them, & as they were all to come on very soon, he beg'd for a little vermillion to paint themselves & has they had brought in a great deal of fresh meat during the spring, hoped that they might not be denied, & that they had some news, but thier Chiefs desir'd Them not to tell it till they came themselves.

GAVE them one pound of Gun Powder three pound of Shott, one pound of Vermillion, two pound of Tobbacco, & two Gallons of Rum; this Indian return'd the same day.

APRIL 13th. Sent M^{rs}. Cardin a frenchwoman to Abacroach to find out what the Indians were about, as I hear'd that a number of them, had assembled & it had been represented to me that there bad intentions amongst them. I gave her three gallons of rum to talk privately with them, & find out thier designs

M^{rs}. Cardin return'd a few days afterwards, & inform'd me that the Indians was not ill dispos'd against the English, but

had an intention of going to war against the Seaux, & that by arguing them persuaded them from it, till thier Chiefs arriv'd & shoud speak to thier Father concerning the meaning of thier Expedition.

THE same day Comishimegan arrived, with his party & a string of wampum from his Brother Petowiskcom another Chief of the Chippiwias, and inform'd me that La Force or Sasowaket, had taken a belt sent him by the French, from the other side the Misissipe by Mon^r. St. Onge, & they were desir'd to hold themselves in readiness to strike the English, as soon as thier old Father the French shoud give them notice, to declare a War, & denied, that he knew if there was any likelihood of a War between the french & English I GAVE them this Answer, their is no such thing at present as any War between the french & English & I have often told you that the french cou'd not get into North America, as they had given all thier Lands in Canada to the English & the french where now the Subjects of the Great KING of England, & that land which they posses'd on the west side of the Misissipi, was Chang'd away with the Spaniards for an Island a great distance from this Country: If any bad belts was sent as you have inform'd me, they must have been given by some Renegade Frenchman, who have no right to speak to Indians about publick affairs, & if the Ottawas has taken belts I am certain it with no other view, than to give them to me as soon as they arrive here, as they themselves will laugh at such folly for they know better than to believe such idle reports.

GAVE them the following present, part being for Petowisham One linnen shirt, two pounds of gun Powder, four pounds of Shott, two pounds of Tobbacco, two gallons & a half of Rum. Desiring them to go back to thier hunting at Chebiogan & make themselves easy till the Ottawa's arriv'd, when they shoud hear more about the belt which they were told off, & that I should let them know every thing that Passd between me & the Chippiwias concerning it.

In the morning these Indians went away well satisfied, that the french woud not bring troops to this Country.

In the evening Michecowee a Misissaga Indian Chief, & his party arrivd at this Fort without any news or provisions

his main purpose was to beg, & stayd till the 27th.; during which time I gave him & his party two pounds of tobbaeco & two gallons of rum. MICHECOWEEK on his return from Michillimackinac met Kecowaskin & came back with him next day. Kecowaskin brought about thirty Indians with him they all stay'd here till the 1st of May, From him I had the following Speech Viz

LISTEN & hear what I am going to say.

I have had a melancholly winter, one of my sons is dead & all my Family are in tears for his loss, I hope you will give me something to wipe away the tears from eyes & something to bury the dead, Shewing his Cartiscock, or Commission, that he had for his firm Attatchment to the English & said when that was shewn he was always to have what ever he ask'd for

GAVE him a stroud Blanket & one linnen Shirt to bury his Son & between the time of his Arrival & the fourth of May, Eleven gallons of rum, & when they were going away one pound of Paint, by which I got rid of this beggarly tribe

MAY the 5th An Indian left sick at the Mission arrivd, poor hungry, & Naked, I gave him one half gallon of Rum, one pound of tobbaeco, with some victuals

The 8th A Band of Chippiwias, arrivd from hunting thirty in number, gave them half a Pound of paint & one gallon & a half of rum, on which they went to thier Village on the Island of Michillimackinac to wait the Arrival of thier Chiefs & the remainder of thier Village, the Indians differed mentioning news till thier Chiefs arrivd.

8th to y^e 11th. M^{rs} Carden & M^r Seely were employ'd as spies on a party of Indians at Sheboigan, who were assembled there, about a hundred in number & as I was informd with no good intent. These people return'd on the 11th with an Account that these Indians had no bad intentions against the English, but were going to war against the Soux, & they had stopp'd there till all thier Chiefs shoud come in & Acquaint me of thier Intentions, for provisions & thier expences, I paid them twelve pounds eighteen shillings.

May 13th Sasawaket or La force the Chief of the Ottawas at Abercroach, sent three of his young men to let me know that he was arrivd at his Village, & that he had a medal & bill from

Sr. William Johnson as a token, for a four gallon Keg of rum & some tobacco, that he might taste a little of his fathers Milk to clear the brains of his young Warriors, with that, & the smoke of some tobacco so that thier hearts & Actions might be just & right.

I gave the Messenger four gallons & five pounds of tobacco.

15th The Chief of Lacloch return'd with his band from his winter's hunting on his way to his Village AND SPOKE as follows VIZ Father we have call'd to see you on our way to our Village & to let you know what has pass'd during the winter on the side of the Puans Bay

The foxes & fallivines are gone to war with the Illinois Indians, & are join'd by some of the Puans, they were to set out about the time we came from thence we hear that the Chippiwias at Point Chigomegan & some of the Christinos, & Ashinoboins have joined in a body to go to war against the Soux This is all the news we have worth your notice We have call'd to day to tell you what we have heard, & hope as we are just passing, you, that you will have Charity & five us a little milk to drink & some Tobacco:

I thank'd the Indians for thier intelligence & ask'd some other Questions, about the traders THEY told me that were all well & safe on that side of the Country. I gave them one gallon of Rum, & three Pounds of Tobacco, on which the Party went of to thier Village well satisfied.

A BAND of the island Chippiwias arriv'd at this Place with one of thier Chiefs but gave no intelligence, as thier whole Village had not come in, I gave them on gallon of Rum, four Pounds of Tobacco, five pounds of Powder & four pounds of Shott to kill me some Geese & Ducks, which they promised to bring me.

May 10th Sosawaket, or Laforce arriv'd at this Fort with about two hundred of the Ottawa's and spoke as follows VIZ

FATHER I am at length got back after having a difficult winters hunting. I have brought those strings of Wampum you spoke to me about last fall here is five of them delivering the strings to you. These strings of Wampum came from the West side of the Misissipe, inviting all the Indians to go there with thier furs & Peltry to trade with thier old fathers, they likewise desir'd as not to strike the English at present nor hurt

any whatever of the traders, but to be ready when calld upon.

These are all I could get of these strings. the other four are gone to La Bay. I have sent Shawanes to find them & bring them to you, but we are all dry, & all my young men are thirsty & as you saluted us with 'Cannon when we Arriv'd, we expect now to be saluted with the Bottle On which I gave them a dram a piece

SOSAWAKET or La force I have not much news to tell you, all is that the Chippewas & Crees are gone to War against the Seoux from the west End & north side of Lake Superior, & the Foxes & Malomones & Puans are gone to War with the Illinois, the Potowatomies, are at difference among themselves, two Villages of them have done one another some mischief, four men have been killd, this is all the news I have the Ottawa's that we sent to the Illinois last fall are not yet return'd, when they come in you shall have all the news that we receive by them. We will always take the advice of the English & observe what you have told us last fall. You see that the traders that was with us are all return'd safe there has not been one of them wrong'd, & every man of them has had plenty of meat to live on, all winter they were not hungry while in our Country they have had all thier Credit paid ask them, we have brought them in with on purpose to tell you this before your face

The Traders which winter'd with the Ottawa's confirmed what they said We are now come to see you & desire that you will not disapoint us, we are very dry for some of your milk, two large Barrels is not more than sufficient to give us a taste, therefore, we all ask that, & as we have always behaved well, we hope that you will not refuse us. Some of our people are dead & we desire something to cover them that we may return to Village & not weep for we are not come this time to stay with you, but shall go back this very day. Therefore what we ask for we desire to have Immediately that we may return. When we see S^r. W^m. Johnson last & settled Peace with him at NIAGARA he told us that when we shew this great belt we never refus'd anything we demanded by that that token for reason, & as what we have asked for at present, is but little, therefore we hope you will not deny us of it: this is all we have to say.

ANSWER I will giye you something to cover the Bodies of your dead & you have behav'd well in taking & bringing in to me those strings of Wampum. You shall also have a little rum to drink after you have done Crying for your deceased Relations, but I have not so much as you ask for therefore you must be contented Contented with life GAVE them four stroud Blankets, three pair of Leggins, two breech Clouts, one Coat, four shirts, & Eleven pounds of Tobbacco, this cloathing is to cover your dead, & the Tobbacco to smoke over them & here is one pound of Vermillion & twenty nine gallons of Rum that you may take with you, this is to wipe away your tears & dress your faces, & make you joyfull & glad: when your mourn-is finish'd I will write to Sr. W^m. Johnson, who will acquaint the Great KING OF ENGLAND your father, on the other side of the Great LAKE of your good behaviour, it gives me pleasure that I can write to Sr. William that you behaved well to the traders And have paid them those Credits

THE OTTAWAS ANSWER VIZ

We thank you Father, we thank Sr. W^m. Johnson we thank the Good & the Great KING OF ENGLAND for having taking notice of us, we are always ready to assist the English when ever they call on us we are now going to our Village & shall wait there till our young men Return from the Illinois which we expect in a few days, when we will return & tell you any thing father, that we may know, & hopes you will consider our Old men & Women & our little Children, that cannot hunt & give them something to cover them from the Cold, & that the Chiefs of the Village of Ottawa's may be cloath'd, as they take most of thier time in serving the English, & keeping peace, among all the Nations, as they cannot so much as they otherwise would, therefore we hope when we return again that you will cloath them all, which will make us think that you have a regard for us, this is all we have to say at present, our hearts are clean & white as Snow farewell

May 21st MINETAWABA from the grand River arrived with about one hundred men & Spoke as follows VIZ

We are come to see you this spring & have brought the traders with us in safety, that was along with us, we now

deliver them & thier Peltry to you, there has been none of them hurt, the goods they sold us are all paid for, all the strings of Wampum that came to us we have deliver'd to Laforce, or Sasawaket who came before us, & he told us as we pass'd the Village of Abacroach that he had given them to you, so we will never throw a stumbling block in the smooth ways that are open'd for us by the English, all bad birds that passes us shall be beat to death, I have brought three Old men with me, who was once chiefs in our nation, they are not able to hunt for cloths to cover thier Bodies, I beg that you will give them some Cloaths & something for our young men to drink & a little Tobbacco, that we may go to our Brothers at Abacroach were we intend to stay till our young men return from the Illinois & then come altogether to see you, I hope you will have Charity on us

GAVE them two Blankets of strouds, two pair of Leggins, three Breech Clouts, three linnon shirts, three pounds of Gun Powder & eight pounds of Shott for thier Old men, ten pounds of Tobbacco, two pound of Vermillion & thirty gallons of rum for thier Party, telling them that I woud write to Sr. W^m. Johnson as soon as possible & tell him of thier good intentions & that the great King of England wou'd always hear of thier good Actions when ever they did any

May 23^d Arrivd Minetewaba & his band at Michillimackinac from the grand River & spoke as follows Viz

I have brought my young men with me to smoke a pipe with you & to assure you that everything Quiet on our side of the Country. I beg as I have a great number of my young men with me, that you will give me a Cannoe loaded with rum to carry back to Abocroach where we are going to hold a a Councill with our Brothers the Ottawa's & something to cover our Old men & Womens. I gave him two stroud Blankets, two pair of Leggins, three breech Clouts, the linnen shirts, three pounds & a half of Gun Powder, eight pound of Shott, & one half pound of Tobbacco, one pound of Vermillion with two eight Gallon Kegs of rum, Withe the following Answer Viz

I HAVE heard what you have said & approve of your going to Abocroach to speak to your Brothers to hear what has pass'd

during the Winter, & what news your young men brings in from any of the Forts, they have visited, I would be glad that the Chiefs of both the Villages wou'd come here, & you may send your Young men home, or leave them at Abocroach till after the Council is over, as the Chiefs can communicate any thing Material to the young men & after you tell me all you have hear'd during the Winter, I will speak to you & if I get any news from Sr. W^m. Johnson that concerns you, it shall then be told you.

MINETEWABA'S ANSWER

We thank you for the trifle you have given our old men & Women to cover them from the Cold, & for the paint, tobbaoco & Rum, that we may light our pipes with it, but the rum is not half enough for one taste a piece, all my young men are Joyfull today, & I expected rum enough to make them merry & I beg you will not make them asham'd, but let us have at least a Cannoe load that we may drink heartily of our Fathers milk Showing his medals & certificate that he had from Sr. W^m. Johnson & other officers when this medal was given me, I was told whenever I shew it, that nothing wou'd be denied: and now in the name of all my young Warriors, I ask for a Cannoe load of Rum

I told them that Sr. W^m. Johnson had a great regard for them, but that he never expected that they would ask any thing unreasonable, when they show'd thier medals as it was never intended any persons shou'd have presents, but when they deserv'd it by their good behaviowr & that I thought the Rum they had was full sufficient

MINETEWABA'S ANSWER Do not my Father let us be asham'd, I told all my young men to come here & speak to thier father, & told them that they might be assur'd of at least a Canoe load of rum, therefore let us have it & don't make us asham'd

GAVE them two more kegs of rum & spoke as follows VIZ

This is all that you shall have of me, & had I more as I have but little rum I wou'd not give it you. go with this to Abocroach & make yourselves Joyfull & take care that you behave properly till I see you again, On which Minetewaba & his Party went off.

MAY 23^d FOUR Chiefs of the Chippiwa's arriv'd with about one hundred men of their people, some of them belong'd to the Island & others, dispers'd up & down on Lake Superior, & the Lake Huron; they had little to say & had hear'd no material news, but beg'd that I woud show them Charity as they were very poor, & had bad success in hunting. They desir'd something to cover them & some Rum; Gave them two breech clouts, one linnen shirt one Coat, two pound of Tobbaco, thirteen gallons of Rum, & one pound & a half of Paint on which they departed, to begin thier trade with the Merchants; & left thier rum in Charge till they were going away.

May 23^d GAVE M^r. Henry Morch & dekyser, six Gallons of Rum, & five pounds of Tobbacco, to set up the Flag at the Indian Village at S^t. Marys.

Do 23^d Laforce, or Sosowaket with five principal Chiefs of their Village, arriv'd with some dry'd meat, which they made a present of to the soldiers, in return I gave thier young men two pounds of Powder, & sixty pounds of Ball, five coats to the five Principall Chiefs on which the Indians returnd to thier Village.

[From this part of the Journal to the end, the handwriting is, in all probability, Rogers's.]

N 8 A Journal of Major Rogers's Proceedings with the Indians at the garrison of Michillimackinac from May the 24th to July 23^d 1767, viz

May 26th The Ottawas of the grand River Came in and Next arrived also all the Ottawas from Abacroach as did those of the Island

By June 10th Arrived at different Times, the Potowatawmen from St. Joseph, The Chippewas from La Bay, from the Island & those who live near Lake Huron as did Their Chiefs of different Bands from Lake Superior and the Saganongs and Missasangans

June 15th All the Chiefs of the above Indians being Assembled a grand Council was held the outside the Fort—Minetewaba and La Force and Kegiweskow opened the Assembly and spoke as follows, viz

My Father—We well remember what you told us last Fall, your Words have been laid up in our Hearts and not one of them is lost, and we come now to assure you that we have minded no idle Reports & listened to no Fools who endeavoured to put bad thoughts in our Heads Since we left you.—We have dissuaded our young Men from joining the Chippewas in any Hostile Measures and have kept this part of the Country Peaceable and Silent And we have not been wanting in our endeavour to keep things so to the Westward between our Brothers the Chippewas Fallivines, Soux and other Nations to whom the Chippewas have given Several Sly Blows

But we are now ready with all our Hearts to assist you in healing those Wounds—The Menomines, Sakes, Puans, Renairds, Winebegos and Soux are all coming to see you & ask your Advice upon this Occasion—And you now need only tell us how to act & what to do in the Affair & we will obey your Orders & keep your Words

The Chiefs of the other nations and Bands above mentioned Spake much to the same Purpose

I Replyed That I was no Stranger to the unhappy differences between the Chippewas and Western Indians and to the Attempts that had been made to draw others into the Quarrel, which I had endeavoured to prevent—That I had by Seasonable Belts and Presents Kept Several Bands of young Warriors in particular one under the direction of the Grand Sable and a Party of Ottawas from joining in those Hostile Measures entered upon by the Chippewas—I then urged them to be of a peaceable and amicable Disposition towards the Several nations of Western Indians To exert themselves in bringing about a Friendly Accomodation between the Chippewas and them and not to entertain the least thought of War or Bloodshed—That they were all equally the Children of the Great King my Master who desired they might all live in peace like Brethren & would certainly be displeased if they did not—I recommended it to them to tarry till those from the Bay & Lake Superior arrived that we might See each others Faces all together & write as one in Clearing the Path & Brightening the Chain of Peace that might extend through all the Nations & Tribes of Indians from the Rising to the Setting Sun—I then

gave a Belt to the Grand Sable a Chippewa Chief of the Island to meet the Chippewas from Lake Superior with at St. Marys, and let them know that that the Soux Puans & Western Indians whom they had Struck & wounded were coming to this Fort to visit their Father and that I expected they would behave peaceably towards them and be of a Temper when they arrived to bury all enmity & Settle all past differences

I Then distributed Presents to them in the manner Set Forth in my Account from May 24th to June 23^d—Upon which some of the Ottawas departed to their Villages, Others went to meet the Soux & Western Nations to protect them from any Attacks of the Chippewas on their way hither, and the Grand Sable went to St. Marys to Treat with & Advise the Indians coming from Lake Superior

Proceedings with the Indians from June 24th to July 3^d 1767
viz

June 25th The Western Indians Soux, Sakes, Falavines, Renards and Puans being Assembled outside the Fort, Ragagumach Spoke for all as follows

Father—We have been encouraged to make you this visit by the last Fall that the Road from us to you was clear & open and we now rejoice to find your Words true and are glad to see you whom we look upon to be our Father next to the King the great Father of us all—All us that are here present are as one, and he that Strikes one Strikes all of us—We are Situate at the greatest distance from you of any of your Children, but we hope that we are not the less loved and cared for by you for that, we know you have taken pains to keep us from being Hurt—And we are Sorry that notwithstanding we have been Struck and wounded by some of your other Children the Chippewas who have lately Stained our Country with the Blood of some of our People and given us great provokation to lift up the Hatchet against them, but we have as yet forbore and came to begg that you our father will have pity upon us. See our past Injuries redressed & that we suffer the like no more, otherwise we must defend ourselves & repell Force by Force Our young Warriors have long been ready & eager to return the blows we have received, but be-

cause of your Words by Goddard and DeRevier we have restrained them.

I replied That I was no Stranger to the Hostile Disposition & attempts of the Chippewas towards them; that I had taken great pains to prevent any mischief being done in their Country and was grieved that they had any Cause of Complaint being greatly desirous that they & their Brothers the Chippewas and all other Tribes and Nations under the protection of the King my Master should live in Peace & Amity, and that I should still endeavour for this all in my power,—I desired them not to think of war but Peace and I would make the Chippewas & others do the same, that they should at present be protected and need fear no Harm from any one,—I then dismissed them after a distribution of some Refreshments till such Time as a Grand and General Council should be Held with all the Indians together some being not yet arrived that were expected Several Conferences passed between this and the 2^d of July with the Chiefs and warriors of different Tribes and Nations Separately, in which I could not but observe a pretty general Hostile Temper to prevail & most of them upon the Point of an open war & rupture to the Westward, there had been Injuries Provocations and Bloodshed on both sides which joined to y^e natural inclination of those Savages to frequent Wars, and the perfidious Conduct of the French and Spanish Traders from the other side of the Misissipi by instilling false notions into their Minds and Stiring them up to war among themselves and into a bad opinion of us and our Traders made matters look very unfavorable to our Trade in that part of the Country at present.—I therefore urged it Strongly upon the western Tribes and nations not to listen to or hold any Commerce or converse with the French beyond the Misissipi as a thing Displeasing to the King to Sir William Johnson to me and to all Englishmen and that must in the End be very dangerous and Hurtfull to them to their wives and Children by cutting off necessary Supplies from their Country and introducing Poverty Famine and Miseries of every kind

To all which they weemed to listen and agree promising to be true and faithfull and to Act wisely for the Future

I strongly recommended the same to the Chippewas and other Tribes & Nations and received the same Assurances from them which gave great Hopes that matters would be finally Accommodated and brought to an happy Conclusion among them to the full Satisfaction of all Parties—A grand . . . Council was Held outside the Fort at this were present the Chiefs of the Bay the Fallavines Puans Sakes Renards Soux, Chippewas Ottawas Messissagas

The Matters of Complaint on either side & the Grand affair of Peace and War were briefly touched upon and Canvassed and after many Short Speeches Replys and Rejoinders of no great Consequence it appeared that there was a general disposition to peace and Amity prevailing among them which I had before recommended to them Separately—I lighted the Calumet or Pipe of Peace which was smoaked with the Formality usual on such occasions by the Chiefs of all the Tribes and Nations, who gave one another the Strongest assurances of Friendship and Love, Promised to forgive and forget all past Injuries and Affronts, to keep down and restrain the Fire of their young Warriors and use their utmost endeavours to prevent mischief on all sides for the future and to live in Harmony Concord & good Agreement like Brethren and Children of the same Father, begging that they might all be Treated as Children in Common, have Traders sent amongst them and be Supplied with necessary goods in their Several distant Villages and Hunting grounds which I assured them should be done—Some Refreshments were distributed and the Council concluded to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties and the next day viz

July 3^d A Distribution was made of Presents to the Several Tribes Bands and Nations as is Specified and Set forth largely and particularly in my Certified Accounts of this Date⁸ . .

⁸ The Statement of Account by Rogers for gifts to the Indians and chiefs during this memorable convocation held during the period from June 24 to July 3 is here given in full from a copy of the original in the British Treasury Papers.

Almost without exception, bills of this kind when presented to Johnson were not allowed, he claiming that such bills were unnecessary and not contracted with his authority. At the termination of Rogers's Michillimackinac career the amount of such unpaid and unauthorized bills amounted to many thousand pounds, and the correspondence relative to such claims, for which Rogers had become responsible to the traders, between him, Sir William Johnson and General Gage, is extensive enough to fill a volume. Appeal

. and over and above a considerable Quantity of good was Delivered the Indians that was given by the merchant

. and it in my hand to be delivered

To sett this matter in as clear & Just a light as I possibly can, I shall point out the several outposts of Michillimakinac, the number of Canoes & Quantity of Goods annually Required to supply the Savages which resort to them, The prime cost of those Goods in Quebec & Albany, the Expence of Importing

after appeal was made by him for a settlement of these bills, but without success, he even went to England to press his case.

An Account of Goods given To The several Indian Nations in the district of Michilimacanack by Robert Rogers Esq. Commandan between the 24th June and 3d July 1767 which he purchas'd of William bruce and Company-

| To Whom Delivered | Stroud blankets @ 30/- | Piece Gimp @ 10/- | White blankets @ 17/- | Double bed gowns @ 16/- | Coats @ 16/- | Shirts @ 12/- | Galls Rum @ 20/- | Mds of Wampum @ 80/- | Pds Vermillion @ 20/- | N. York Curr'y |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| To The Foxes | 6 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 1½ | 4 | | £ 38- 3-4 |
| ditto St. Marys | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 30-16-0 |
| ditto Menomeney | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | 28-13-4 |
| ditto Kawmeenipite geau | 5 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 34-13-4 |
| ditto Wood Lake | 6 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 4 | | 49-13-4 |
| ditto La Point | 4 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 10 | 13 | 3 | | 54- 0-8 |
| ditto Saucks | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | 18-14-8 |
| ditto Pewans | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 35- 4-0 |
| ditto Rain Lake | 4 | 6 | 12 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 16 | 4 | | 49- 4-0 |
| ditto Nippygong | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 26- 2-8 |
| ditto Winnypeek | 4 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | | 27- 1-4 |
| ditto Minneewake | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 20- 9-4 |
| ditto Souex | 2 | 13 | 13 | 8 | 4 | 14 | 16 | 6 | | 69-15-4 |

£481-13-0

I do hereby certify that the Above Account is Just and True as witnes my hand Michilimacanack 6th July 1767-

Wm Bruce & Co.

We the Subscribers do hereby Certify that the distributions of Goods were Actually made by Major Rogers To the different Nations of Indians as specify'd in the within account, and are Confident that the within and other presents by him given to the Indians which we have this day Certify'd were absolutely Necessary and well Timed Otherwise an Indian War must have taken place in this Country Instead of a peace which he has with Great pains, care, and fatigue to himself settled amongst all the different Nations that Resort this post greatly to the advantage of His Majesty's Interest and to those of his Subjects Trading to this Country who must have been Totally Ruined by a War-

Given under our hand at Michilimacanack the 6 July 1767 T Spiesmacher Capt 2nd
 Rob't Rogers Comm^{dt} Alec Jnt. Scote—Lieut of Artillery 2d Batt. 60 Regt'
 T. Meadows Ens. 2d Batt. 60th Regim. Wm Maxwell—
 D. Commissary of Stores & Provisions

them from thence to Michilimakinac, And the quantity that it will take provided the Trade is extended free & open to said posts.

In the next place the Number of Canoes and quantity of Goods that will be Sufficient to Supply the post of Michilimakinac provided the trade is confined to that, And no Traders suffered to make sale of their Goods at the out posts.

Lists of Posts & the Canoes necessary to supply them, and also a list of the furs and peltery that was exported from Michilimakinac the summer of 1767 all of which was caught the forgoing winter by the Indians.

In Lake Huron—

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----------|
| Saguinay Bay | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 canoes |
| Machidash & Riviere auSable | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |

In Lake Michigan

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| La Grand Riviere, and a few small posts | } | - | 6 |
| depending on it | | | |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Saint Josephs & its dependancies | - | - | - | 8 |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Milwayte | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| La Bay & its dependancies | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 36 |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|

In Lake Superior }
On the South Side }

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saint Marys | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| La Point Chagouamigan, Including | } | - | - | 8 |
| S ^t . Ance, La fond du lac, la Riviere | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Serpent & petite Ounipique | - | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

On the North Side

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| Michipicotton | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 60 |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Brought over | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 69 canoes |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Changuina, Caministigua or three Rivers | - | - | - | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alempigan & its Dependancies one large | } | - | 4 |
| Canoe & five small ones which is equal to | | | |

In the Interior parts of the Country

to the West & Northwest of Lake Superior

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| Lake Leplus, Six small canoes equal to | - | - | 3 |
|--|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lake du Bois, two small D ^o . equal to | - | - | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|--|---|---|----|
| Riviere du Beuf & La Riviere Ounipique | } | - | 1½ |
| three small canoes equal to | | - | |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|----|
| Fort LaReine, five small D ^o . equal to | - | - | 2½ |
|--|---|---|----|

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|----|
| La Biche, three small D°. equal to | - | - | - | 1½ |
| Fort Dauphin three small D°. equal to | - | - | - | 1½ |
| Dupais five small D°. equal to | - | - | - | 2½ |
| La prairie five small D°. equal to | - | - | - | 2½ |

92

To the Souis - - - - - 2

If the foregoing posts are all Supplied Agreeable
to the Above plan I am well Informed that no
more than about Six Canoes would be Annually
consumed at Michilimakinac - - - - - } - 6

Large canoes 100

One Hundred Canoes will not be more than Sufficient for the Annual Consumption, if this Trade be extended under proper regulations to the outposts. The Load for one of which when made up in Montreal into Bales of about Ninety pounds French weight for the Convienieny of Carrying them round the Falls & Rapids on the Awawa or North River on the Rout to Michilimakinac is as follows.

Eighteen Bales consisting of Strouds, Blankets, frize Coates, Callimancoe Bed Gowns, coarse Callicoe, linnen Shirts, Leg-gins, Ribbans, beads, Virmillion, gartering and many other such Articles. And the following pieces of about the same weight.

Nine Kegs of Gun powder

One Keg of Flint, Steels & gun Screws

Ten Kegs of British Brandy

four cases of Ironwork & Cutleryware

Two cases of Guns

Two Bales of brass Kettles

Two cases of Looking Glasses & combs

five Bales of Manufactured carrot Tobacco

Twelve Bags of Shott & Ball

One Box of Silverwork & wampum

Which goods at the lowest value at Quebec

Amount to 450 Steal: pr Canoe, prime cost £45000 0
of 100 Canoes - - - - -

| | | |
|--|---|--------|
| To which I may also add the price of the Canoes, together with the wages of upwards of 1000 Men, which are annually employ'd in this Trade between spring & Harvest to Navi- gate said canoes 95 10 for each canoe | } | 9550 0 |
| Wages of Clerks, or Commis employ'd } in Said Trade computed at about | } | 3888 0 |

| | | |
|---|----------------|-------------|
| | Carried over - | £58438 00 |
| Brought over - - - - - | | £58438.00 0 |
| I may also allow for money annually paid to Mechanics, such as blacksmiths, Carpen- ters, Coopers & Taylors to make up Cloathes, Shirts & other things necessary for this Trade. Together with the charges of Carrying the said goods from Montreal to Lachine three Leagues from Montreal, And on the other side to Schinactady five Leagues from Albany: in order to be Embarked, About - - | } | 1740.00 0 |
| Provisions such as Beef, Pork } Biscuit & pease - - about | } | 720.00.0 |

Prime cost & totall expense of 100 canoes to
Michillimakinac - - - - - £60898.00.0

So that the Totall Amount of the Merchandize, with the
outfitt & Expences Arises to Sixty Thousand Eight Hundred
& Ninety eight pounds, in case the Trade be open and free to
the Different out postes: And these regulated properly by the
Commandant or Governour of Michillimakinac, so that the
whole may be equally divided, as in the time of the French,
which I have reason to think is not Exaggerated.

On the other hand if trade is to be Confined to this Fort
only, And the Traders not Allowed to go beyond it: Ten canoes
will be Sufficient, Which without making any Difference in
the prime cost of Goods and

The Expences, will Amount to - - - £6089.16.
from which it appears that the real
Difference from the first outfill by con-
fining the Trade to this Fort, and having

it extended & carried on in the Indian Country as it was formerly done by the French is Fifty four Thousand Eight Hundred & eight Pounds four shillings } 54000 .4 .—
 of which Sum Great Britain will loss } 40500 .0 .0
 Annually about Forty Thousand five }
 Hundred Pounds, And the remainder will Intirely fall on the most usefull and Industrious part of his Majesties Subjects in the province of Quebec: particularly within the District of Montreal, who chiefly Depend on this branch of Commerce for their Support.

A List of the fur and peltery that was Exported from Michilimakinac y^e Summer of 1767

| | | price Current at New York |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Beaver Skins | worth per pound | |
| | Each worth | |
| Foxes | Each worth | |
| | | 4 |
| Martins | worth Each | Two |
| | | price curant at New York |
| Rachoons | Each worth | |
| | | £000 |
| | | £Sd |
| | total amount | |

So that at Michilimakinac The gains anually of the fur traid is over and above paying all thier first cost and after Expençe ammount to £000^{sd}

The Estimate perhaps may seem partial to some, but as I am confident it is very near the Truth, so I am persuaded it will be approved of by such as are tollerably acquainted with the Situation of Michilimakinac with regard to the out Posts above mentioned, and to the Several Nations, Tribes and Bands of Indians Trading to them—

In the first place it should be observed that if the Trade be confined to Michilimakinac, few if any Indians from the West

of Lake Michigan or from the South and west of Lake Superior would ever visit that Post at all, some because they are at such a distance that they cannot possibly do it, and others because they can be Supplied at Home with every Article they stand in need of, for it is more then probable, it is certain that if we do not send a Supply to those Indians the Spaniards will, who have already began to Trade in the Country of the Soux & at some Posts on the Lake Superior and Michigan so that we should wholly Loose the Trade of near thirty Thousand Indians which we may now Leave if it be extended to the out Posts & these properly Supplied, This loss would be of the outmost moment but it is not all we should also loose their Friendship; and their attachment to the French and Spaniards would become stronger so that we should have them for our most dangerous and implacable Enemies - - - -

Secondly we not only *wholly* Loose the Trade of such numbers of Savages by a confinement of Trade to Michilimakanac, but those nations Tribes and Bands that will continue to Supply themselves from that Post will not Trade near so largely, perhaps not more than to two thirds of the value annully, that they would do were Traders allowed to visit and Supply them at their Hunting Grounds or winter Quarters,—

The reason of this is plain: The presence of the Trader with a Supply of such Articles as the Savage wants, excites and encourages Him to greater Industry and Assiduity in Hunting, it animates Men Women and Children to exert themselves to the utmost for the procureing of what they can upon the Spot immediately Barter for such things as will be usefull or ornamental to them.—

Besides, as the Savages are mostly poor they are not able to supply themselves with large Stores of such things as are absolutely necessary not only to their Hunting but even their Subsisting with any Comfort, so that in case of any emergency or Accident they must often Suffer great inconveniences if Traders are not among them or near at Hand to Supply them afresh, for Instance the Loosing or or breaking of a Hatchet or two or three Knives & the like may lay a Whole Family under great inconveniences for six or eight Months together, the Spoiling of a Small quantity of Gunpowder, the breaking

a Spring of a gunLock &c may be the means of destroying a whole Seasons Hunt and of distressing and Starving a numerous Family. whence tis easy to infer that confining Trade to the Post of Michilimakanac will greatly diminish our Trade even with Those Savages that will Still depend upon it for their Supplies for the Savage can Trade only in proportion to His Industry Skill & Success in Hunting,—

Nor is it difficult to collect furmer bad Tendencyys such a confinement of Trade must have to exasperateing & procureing the ill will of those Savages who have been accustomed / & their Fathers before them / annually to expect Traders with Supplies of such articles as they wanted at their Hunting grounds or winter Quarters, will not the necessitous distressed & hungry Savage conclude that his hurt & ruin is connected with if not intended by such an innovation? will he not be provoked to retaliate in some way or other?

It may here be added that it is utterly impossible for many of those Savages, who are within the Limits that would be dependent on Michilimaka^c / were the Trade confined to that only / to carry their Furs and Peltery there—First Many of them have not & cannot have Conveyanses—Secondly many others must leave their Wives & Children to Starve and perish in the Absence, and lastly the Situation & Circumstances of Some nations and Tribes are such, that were they obliged to carry to the Single Market of Michilimakanac the Produce of their years Hunt or any Part of it, they must leave their Wives and Children not only in a distressed and Starving Condition but liable every day and Hour to become Slaves and their whole Country and Substance be left a prey to neighbouring Savages.

The different nations & Tribes are now often at war with each other, and it is very certain these animosi^s would increase greatly when they come to have different different Connexions, Separate Channells of Trade and as it were opposite Interests

I cannot but think what has been said is Sufficient to convince any one that the above estimate of the odds between confining the Trade to the Post of Michilimakanac only & extending it free and open to the Out Posts at present dependent upon it, is neither partial nor improbable, & that such a

Limitation and confinement of Trade would not only greatly curtail & lessen our Trade but would otherwise be greatly Injurious & detrimental to the British Interest in this Country, by opening a Door for neighboring enemies to enter & encroach upon our Territories, by cooling the Friendship of many Savages and by exciting the Enmity rage and brutal Revenge of many more against His Majestys Subjects in this Part of the world, for it is well known that the revenge of a Savage is not Governed by reason or Justice but falls at random upon the first object he meets with anyways related to or connected with those from whom he has received a real or Suposed Injury

It should also be considered that the Sum of Forty Thousand five hundred pounds in Trade is not the whole Loss that Great Briton must Suffer by Such a Restriction For whatever Lessens British Manufacturers or puts a Stop to those Employments by which British Subjects may decently Subsist and increase their Substance may be justly estimated a public injury or national Loss,—now according to the above estimate Such a restriction of Trade will Annually hinder the Sale of Forty five Thousand pounds worth prime Cost in Qubec of Goods chiefly of British Manufactory and as it must Hinder the Sale of them there it will also hinder the importing them from London to Quebec & thence to Michilimakanac and in that proportion effect our Shipping or Naval Interest—and in America it must immediately turn out of employment at lest 1000 Subjects who Act as Servants, Canoe Men & in carrying on the Trade who not only decently Subsist by such Employment but many of them greatly increase their Substance and consequently add to the Riches of the Nation.

So that upon the whole, the clear Profits of Trade Lost by such a Restriction of Trade ought not to be estimated more than one half of the real Loss it must be to the nation it should be observed that the profits of this Trade does not come to british Subjects in Cash but what is much better in fur and Peltery, all which are to be manufactured and turned perhaps to ten times their original value before they come to the highest Market.

For notwithstanding I have here fixed the Price at which goods are Sold to the Savages at four times their prime Cost in London allowing one fourth for the expence of importing to Michillimakanac, and two fourths for the Traders clear profits, yet it should be observed that many of those goods when carried to the out Posts are Sold at Six or eight hundred & a thousand per cent in proportion to the distance to which they are carryed, which great Advance after leaving upon an average, goes to defray the expences of exporting & carrying from one place to another the payment of Batteauxmen, Carriers, Clerks Interpreters and the Like.⁹

I cannot but think what has been said is abundantly Sufficient to convince every one that it is greatly for the Interest of Great Britain not to restrict the Indian Trade to the Post of Michillimakanac but to extend it open & free with all reasonable encouragement to the Several Out Posts that have heretofore been looked upon dependent upon it & that have for many years Since been Annually Supplied from it, and even to extend it further if possible into the Interior Country to Tribes and nations of Savages at present unknown I will here only Subjoin that some national advantages may arise and those not inconsiderable from having a number of Subjects Annually Employed & for the most part resident four Six and eight Hundred Leagues and some further, west, Northwest and Southwest of Michilimakanac—who can say what valuable Discoveries may one Time or other be made by this Means?—and at any Rate this would prevent any other European Nation from Secretly gaining any considerable footing in those remote regions that might be detrimental to us—it would bring a great number of British Subjects acquainted with the Rivers Mountains, Plains and Capes of the Country in a good Degree who would Serve for Guides and Conductors in case of any emergency—it would give us an opportunity of knowing in some good Measure the Temper and Resolutions of the Savages with regard to us from Time to Time,—in fine it would be as was hinted before a probable means of conciliation and attaching great numbers of them to the British Interest, who

⁹ This paragraph in the original Journal is crossed through in the lines, with the intention of striking it out.

upon any Occasion would prove our Stedfast Friends and faithfull Allies

Now the Case with Regard to the other principal Posts below Michilimakanac is very different and no one reason offered here for extending the Trade to the out Posts can with any Strength or Propriety be urged for either of them

To begin with Oswego.

There are no Savages dependent upon that Post for a Supply of necessaries or whose Furs & Peltery comes to that Market but what at almost any Season may easily repair to it in two or three days Time, or if they do not Chuse to go there, they may with equal ease repair to the English Settlements and be Supplied with whatever they have occasion for. And indeed the Trade with the Indians at Oswego is now very inconsiderable and if divided into three or four Branches it would not be worth a Trader's while to go after either of them, so that no ill consequences can follow from a Restriction of Trade to this Post

Nor is the case of Niagara widely different from that of Oswego, the Trade with the Indians indeed is Larger, but there are no Savages who are originally Supplied from that Post or that make it their usual Market, but what may repair to it at all Seasons of the year in a very Short time and return again to their Hunting grounds or places of residence, or in case of any emergency may send a band of their young Warriors and be quickly Supplied with whatever they have occasion for—Indeed there is no out Post belonging to Niagara so considerable that any Trader would Chuse regularly to attend and Supply it were he permitted or desired to do it. . . . As therefore no great disadvantage to the Traders or Inconvenience to the Savages if any at all can arise from a restriction of Trade to this Post there can I think be no Solid objection why such Restriction should not take place there

And as to Detroit the Case differs very little from that of Oswego and Niagara, the Trade there with the Savages, Tis true is much larger than at both the other Posts, But it is chiefly with Savages that have an easy and quick recourse there, who at any time can in a few days be Supplied from thence with whatever they have Occasion for:

As to those Indians who live at a greater distance upon the Southwesterly Banks of Lake Erie in Spite of any orders or regulations to y^e Contrary they will not fail to stop such a number of Pack Horses with their Drivers passing that way from Philadelphia to Detroit Loaded with goods, as will be Sufficient to Supply them—Nor can we reasonably Suppose but that the Trader will easily submit to such a Constraint, as he is saved from forfeiting his Bonds given to the Commissary at Fort Pitt and has a prospect of making a quick & advantageous Market of His goods—. The very Same is the Case at the Mamee where Pontecac has taken up His Residence for two Winters part. He certainly will make no Scruple of Stopping Such a number of Canoes passing between Detroit and the Illinois as are Sufficient to Supply His band

This being the Case no material Injury or Inconveniency can arise to the Trader, the Savage or the State by restricting Indian Trade to Detroit

And to avoid Repetitions upon this Subject, very much the same holds True of Fort Pitt and the Post at the Illinois: The Savages dependent upon those Posts for Supplies of goods are either so near to them that they can easily repair thither upon any urgent Occasion & in a Short Space of time so as not to distress their Families or neglect their Hunting, or else are so Situate as to Supply themselves from Traders passing from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, from Pittsburg to Detroit and from both those Posts to the Illinois, or from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres, a Trade is also carried on from Fort Pitt by Boat down the Ohio by which many Savages may be Supplied &c

It need not surely be repeated that the Case of Michilimakanac is very different—This is the outside or Frontier British Post in America—It is or ought to be a Barrier to all that may come Westerly Northwesterly or Southwesterly to the Pacific Ocean—It is or ought to be a Beacon from which a most Extensive and as yet unknown Territory is Watched and observed—It is or ought to be a Store House fraught with all manner of necessaries for the Constant Supply of almost innumerable Bands Tribes and nations of Savages—Savages removed from it five, Six & eight Hundred and some a thousand Leagues who cannot Annually nor ever in their Lives visit it

as a Market—They must loose one years Hunt to make Sale of another—They must leave their Families distressed and Starving—Their Country and Substance naked & exposed to Enemies, and perhaps perish themselves with Hunger and want on their way—Savages long accustomed to expect Traders Annually with Supplies in their respective Countries

Tis true some principal person from some of these distant Tribes and nations, generally visit this Garrison once in two or three years But it is their year's employment when they come They bring nothing with them except some Triffling Present, or some Small matter to exchange for necessaries to carry them back again, they do not come to Market—Their Buisness is to renew and brighten the Chain or Path of Friendship and make Solemn Declaration of their peaceable disposition and Amicable Intentions towards us—, And their principal Request of the Commandant is that Traders may come into their respective Countries, That their Wives, Children, Old Men Friends and Countrymen may be Supplied with such things as / having been long accustomed to the use of / they cannot comfortably and patiently Subsist without—

But I forbear—Any one of the least Sensibility may imagin something of the Pain and Chagrin that a Commandant must feel when he finds Himself obliged to Answer, that he cannot permit any Trader to come nearer to them than this Garrison. and if they want goods they must come hither for them—

And what must be the Consternation, the uneasiness displeasure and Resentment of those Tribes and Nations when their Chiefs Return with this unexpected Melancholy but possitive Answer who can Answer for the Measures they may take in these Circumstances—

And will not a neighbouring Ambitious enemy make all possible advantages of this unhappy Posture of Affairs—Will they not construe, Aggravate and Turn such proceedings as much to the Injury of Britton and British Subjects as possible—Will they not hence take occasion to make inroads and in-croachments and to create fresh Troubles to his Brittannic Majesties Subjects? They already have done it and are doing it daily as has been Hinted before

But I will add no more upon this Head The Point is so clear and obvious that it need not be enlarged or insisted upon

I shall conclude the whole I have to say with the following Queries, in the Speedy Indicision and wise Dicision of which I think the British Interest materially Concerned viz

Quer 1 Is it the Interest of great Britain to keep the Territories and Possessions in North America Ceded to Her by the last Treaty or to give up or neglect a part of them and Suffer a neighbouring Nation to become possessed of and fortified in the Same?

Quer. 2 Is it the Interest of Great Britain to Secure and if possible increase Her Trade of Furr and Peltery with the Savages, or to Suffer that Branch of Trade to be curtailed, to dwindle and fall into the Hands of Her Enemies?

Quer 3 Is not the largest Channal of the Furr and Peltery Trade in North America so circumstanced and Situated, that the Security and increase of it greatly depends upon the due Regulation & wise managment of Indian Affairs at the Post of Michilimakanac?

Quer 4 Ought not the Government to pay a particular Attention to that Post upon which the Security of an immense Teritory and a most profitable Trade so greatly depends?

. . . .

Quer 5 Would it not greatly contribute to the Security and increase of Trade in these boundless Regions to erect Michilimakanac into a Civil Government independ^t. of any other Post with a proper Subordination of Legislative and Executive Officers for the forming of proper Regulations from time to time and the due Administration of Justice?

Quer 6 Would it not contribute to the Same valuable purpose not only to keep the Post of Michilimakanac Garrisoned with a Suitable number of brave well disciplined Troops, but to send into and Station in this Country some Companies of light Troops, who might March upon any immergency to its Out Posts or be employed in exploring the Country, Awing the Savages and making fresh Discoveries?

Quer 7 Since it is in fact true / and can be reported By a Multitude of Witnesses / that the French at Michilimakanac, St. Josephs the Green Bay, St. Mary's and other places in this

Country where they are lurking & walking up and down, are an Indolent Slothfull Set of vagabonds, ill disposed to the English and having great influence over the Savages are continually exciting their Jealosys, and Stiring up their hatred and Revenge against us, Ought they not therefore as Speedily as possible to be removed out of this Country for the better Security of British Subjects and British Trade?

Quer 8 Since Our Neighbours the French & Spaniards have in Fact begun a Settlement on our Side or the East Side of the Mississipi, upon the River Luis Constance where it joins at a place called the Dog Plain, a thourough fare formerly for great numbers of Indians to Michilimakanac and now intended by them to prevent their Trading to that Post for the future, Since they already have and daily are Sending out Traders to Posts on the Lakes Superior and Michigan and into the Country of the Soux &c which Acts are manifest encroachm^{ts} upon the Territories and Trade of Great Britian

Ought not the Government to pay a Serious & Speedy Attention to these Encroachments and enter upon some effectual Measures to prevent them?

If y^e above Queries be answered in the affirmative, as they surely must, the following Plan, seems absolutely necessary to gain the great, & Valueable Ends, hinted at, & propos'd by them. Viz

Which is, humbly submitted, to the better Judgement, of his MAJESTY. & the Government of Great BRITAIN who at all times, have consulted the Interest of his Majestys Subjects, but more especially at this Glorious period, of the Brittish Annals Viz

That Michillimackinac & its dependencies, shoud be erected into a Civil Goverment; with a Governer, Lieutenant Governor, & a Council, of twelve; chose out of the Principal Merchants, that carry on this valueable branch of Trade with Power to enact, such Laws, as may be necessary & these to be transmitted, to the KING: & for Approbation: That the Governer, shoud be Agent for the Indians, & Commandant of the troops, that may be order'd to Garisson, the Fort who must not see a divided power, which the Savages laugh at & Contemnon: and have Authority to leave the Lieut. Gov, his Deputy,

when the service may, require him, to Visit the Indians at a distance; in order to prevent, Quarrels and Wars among the Savages; which at all times is disadvantageous, to the publick, & to Trade, or in order to remove incroachments of the French & Spaniards, or other greivencies, that may occur at the out posts, & Frontiers

For the further preventing of which, as likewise the intentions, of French, & Spaniards, of drawing the Indians, from between the Lakes Superior & Michigan & the River MISISSIPPE, to trade with them & build thier Villages, or settle thier Habitations on thier side the said River, which they Actually are attempting at this time: by sending Belts & Messages amongst the Indians: to that purpose, with large presents to induce them to it which is to my certain knowledge, having clear proofs & Attestations thereof. I say for further preventing these & other dangerous Consequences to the well being of trade of this distant & critically situated part of His Majesty's dominions it is, or it seems absolutely necessary, that a Body of light Troops, or rangers, well diciplin'd, be fix'd in this district, under the Command of the Gov^r., Two three, or more Companies, as shall seem necessary, with power to detach them, to any Post where it may be needfull, or to station a part of them on those parts of the frontiers most expos'd, to the incroachments mentiond above, at proper seasons of the Year, such as the mouth of Ousconsins, where it joins the Mississippi, & where the said encroachments, are notorious, or other such places

THAT the Gov & his Council shoud report in all civil matters, or in Affairs relating to the Indians to the KING, & COUNCIL. And that a fix'd sum shoud be allow'd Annually, for presents, to the Indians, to keep them peaceable, & well dispos'd towards His Majesty's Just & mild Government such as shall be thought reasonable and Adequate for a Post to which more than one third of the Indians on the Continent resort, besides many other nation to the Westward, as far even as the Pacific Ocean, that are not now known, who may be inducd to visit, & trade, with us, upon the Fame of so wise, & prudent, regulations, if properly carried into Execution

THE Nesesity of having a Lieu^t. Gov^r. & one who is known to Indian Affairs, is pretty obvious from what has been said:

That the Gov^r. may on many occasions be oblig'd to be at a great distance from the Fort, as has been the Case since my Arrival, at this Garrison, having had repeated Belts, & messages, to visit the Indians, at great distance in thier Villages, & has been absolutely oblig'd, to go. At which times one may be oblig'd to leave the Command to one no ways known to Indian affairs, which makes it absolutely necessary to have a second well experienc'd as well with the manners of the Indians so, likewise with the nature of the trade of this Country, one who is a friend to Civil Power & to Trade, who need be no further expence to the Government, then having the second Company of Rangers with a moderate Allowance for Commanding in the Gov^{rs}. absence

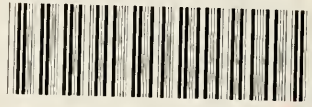
If to this Plan it shou'd be objected; that the constituting of small Garrisons, & Posts, to the Westward, under the Command of regular Troops, wou'd answer all the purposes of the Rangers &c It is plain they cannot, from many obvious reasons, Regular Troops who must be often chang'd can never know the Woods, the Savages, their manners, thier ways of making War, or any of the purposes for which the Rangers are propos'd. so well as men who are inlisted for these purposes, who are pick'd out for thier knowledge & Experience in these things, & who are to abide by, & make them the bussiness of thier Lives.

THESE small Garrisons, being weak & at a great distance, one from another & under the Command of inferior Officers, are liable to be surpriz'd, or taken by force at all times by the Savages, numbers of whom, are always dispos'd to commit such depra-dations as a Savage heroism, or for plunder, as happen'd in the last Indian War of 1763

THE inferior Officers & Soldiers in small Posts, both from their circumstances & their being not immediately under the Eyes of their Superiors, have great temptations to yelld to corruption & to tyranize over the Merchants & people in civil Life

WHEREAS by the propos'd Plan, all are under a Civil Power & Gov Commandant of the Troops, & Agent to the Indians Which wou'd cause every Branch to be countenanc'd for the mutual safety of each other.

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